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BOOK REVIEWS.

THE EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA. By John H. Latané, A. B., Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, March and April, 1895.

(Review continued from Vol. IV, page 472.)

(3d) **THE PURITANS IN NANSEMOND.**

On the 19th of August, 1637, Richard Bennett obtained a patent for 2,000 acres of land, and located it in "a neck of land" formed by Nansemond River and a creek, now called Bennett's Creek; and this tract of land acquired the name of Bennett's Pasture, which it has retained down to this day. In its subdivision and sales to subsequent purchasers, it is usual to-day to refer to it "as part of a tract formerly called Bennett's Pasture." That patent was granted upon the theory that he had "transported into the colony" forty persons. Among the names of "the forty" are Austin, a negro, Ambrose Bennett, William Durand and Richard Bennett.

There is not a particle of reliable evidence of any Puritanism in this State, that I know of, until June 6, 1642, when Philip Bennett arrived at Boston "with letters from many well disposed people" * * * "earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness they might call to office," &c., &c., as it appears from Winthrop's Journal from 1630 (the day of his arrival) to 1649 (the day of his death), edited by James Savage in 1826 (page 78). Mr. Winthrop was governor from 1630 to 1634, from 1637 to 1640, from 1641 to 1643, and from 1646 to 1649. As this Journal is the original and highest authority, I shall quote from it and not from the thousand and one authors who refer to it, often inaccurately.

Mr. Thompson, Mr. James and Mr. Knowles "were sent away and departed on their way 8ber 7. 1642, to Taunton to meet the bark at Narragansett," and were eleven weeks before they arrived. As "they passed Hellgate between Long Island and the Dutch, their pinnace was bilged upon the rocks, so as she near foundered before they could run on the next shore" (pages 95-6). They remained there some time, and "set sail in the dead of winter (1642), and had much foul weather, so as with great difficulty and danger they arrived safe in Virginia. Here they found very loving and liberal entertainment, and were bestowed in several places, not by the governor, but by some well disposed people who desired their company." Mr. Knowles, finding that the sup-

ply of ministers was greater than the demand, returned to Boston on the 4th of April, 1643.

The second dreadful massacre, inspired by the fierce Opecanconough, was on the 18th day of April, 1644; and it was enacted, "that it should be yearly celebrated by thanksgivinge for our deliverance from the hands of the Salvages." (1 *Hening*, 290.) "This massacre," says the kind-hearted Mr. Winthrop "came upon them soon after they had driven out the godly ministers we had sent to them, and had made an order that all such as could not conform to the discipline of the church of England should depart the country by a certain day, which the massacre now prevented, and the governor (one Sir Robert Berkeley, a courtier and very *malignant* towards the way of our churches here) and council had appointed a fast to be kept through the country upon Good Friday (as they call it) for the good success of the king, &c., and the day before this massacre began in the outskirts of the country round about and continued two days, for they killed all by sudden surprisal, living amongst them and as familiar in their houses as those of the family. This massacre was accompanied with great mortality. Upon these troubles divers godly disposed persons came from thence to New England, and many of the rest were forced to give glory to God in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them." (2 *Winthrop*, pages 164-5.)

Mr. Edward Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Saviour In New England" (chap. xi), equally as amiable as Governor Winthrop, says that "some godly people in Virginia" sent "the godly Mr. Philip Bennit" to them for some godly ministers who arrived in safety and "preached openly unto the people for some good space of time, and also from house to house exhorted the people daily" until "opposed by the Governor and some other malignant spirits, they were forced to return to New England again." * * * "And now attend to the following story, all you Cavaliers and malignants the world throughout, take notice of the wonder working providence of Christ towards his churches, and punishing hand of his towards the contemners of his Gospel. Behold ye despisers, and wonder. Oh poor Virginia, dost thou send away the ministers of Christ with threatening speeches? No sooner is this done but the barbarous, inhumane, insolent, and bloody Indians are let loose upon them who contrive the cutting them off by whole families; closely carrying their wicked counsels till they had effected their desires; their bloody designs taking place for the space of 200 miles up the river" * * * "till they put a period to the lives of five or six hundred of these people who had not long before a plentiful proffer of the mercies of Christ, in the glad tidings of peace, published by the mouth of his ministers," "who came unto them for that end, but choosing rather the fellowship of their drunken

companions, and a Priest of their own Profession, who could hardly continue so long sober as till he could read them the reliques of man's invention in a common prayer-book," &c.

Mr. Winthrop, in 1640, spoke of the ministers of Virginia as "being usually drunken as is the custom there." (Vol. II, page 22.)

I have given these long quotations from Winthrop and Johnson to fix the facts; to show the temper and spirit of all Puritans towards Colonial Virginia, solely because it was Episcopal Virginia, and to show how utterly unreliable and exaggerated their statements are. This much is certain, however, out of their own mouths: the missionaries from Massachusetts left in the summer of 1642, and arrived in Virginia in the dead of winter; that Mr. Knowles returned to Boston on April 4th, 1643; that Mr. Thompson and Mr. James openly preached to the people "a good space of time" and "from house to house," and that they remained in Virginia until after the massacre of April 18, 1644. Two of their "godly ministers," then, were in Virginia, openly defying her laws from, say, January 1, 1643, to April 15, 1644—fifteen months and a half.

What, then, was the only law passed against them of which they, then and now, so bitterly complain? At the March session of the General Assembly, 1642-3, there was the "2nd Revisal of the laws of Virginia" and the 64 act (*1st Hening*, page 277) is in these words: "For the preservation of the puritie of doctrine and unitie of the church It is enacted that all ministers whatsoever, which shall reside in the collony, are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the church of England, and the laws therein established, and not other wise to be admitted to teach or preach publicly or privately. And that the Gov: and Counsel do take care that all nonconformists, upon notice of them, shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience." With the exception of this last sentence, the act is nothing, but is only the 13th Elizabeth, and reiteration of the laws of Virginia from 1619 down to that day, and will be found in the Acts of 1619, and again in *1st Hening*, pages 123, 144, 149, 155, 180, 240, 268, 269, 277. It is possible, and probable too, that the last sentence was added to give notice to the "godly ministers of New England," who alone were sober and righteous, that they must not be too fanatical. But were they borne with long and patiently?

Was there ever any order made or given that they should "depart the colonie with all conveniencie?" The notes of Mr. Robinson of the orders of the General Court do not say so. And the General Assembly of Virginia, as we shall hereafter see, says no such order was ever made. But suppose that after a residence here of twelve months, an order was made "that they should depart the country by a certain day, which the massacre now prevented?" Is that a matter of which Massachusetts or Maryland should complain?

Let us see what had been the conduct of Massachusetts towards some of her people prior to this time, for the slightest differences of opinion

in religious beliefs, on such momentous questions as "whether a man should be saved by a covenant of grace or a covenant of works," and see whether or not Massachusetts has any right "to point the finger of scorn" at Virginia for her intolerance, and ask ourselves the question why is it that Virginia writers will repeat these calumnies without a word of explanation, or if any is designed, why is it made so thin and vague as to become an endorsement? Let Mr. Winthrop be the narrator of Massachusetts intolerance, and then let any Virginian say whether he will blush or rejoice at the contrast.

"In 1631, Henry Linne" "was whipped and banished for writing letters against our government and orders of our churches," vol. I, p. 61. In 1635, "the first grand jury presented above one hundred offenses" and "some of them magistrates" who, under their law, must be members of the church (p. 166). In 1635, "Mr. Williams (Roger) was banished" (p. 170). In 1636, Mr. Hutchison was banished and Mr. Wheel-right was disfranchised and banished (p. 200). In 1637, William Aspinwall was disfranchised and banished (p. 245). In 1637, fifty-eight persons in Boston, five in Salem, three in Newberry, five in Roxbury, two in Ipswich and two in Charlestowne "were disarmed and ordered to deliver all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and ratches as they shall be the owners of or have in their custody upon a penalty of ten pounds for every default to bee made there of (p. 248). And it was ordered upon a penalty of ten pounds, that no man should borrow "any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot or matches until this court shall take further order there in."

Mr. Savage was compelled to declare that "in no part of the history of any of the United States, perhaps, can a parallel be found for this Act" (p. 247). In 1638, Mrs. Oliver was whipped and had a "cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the elders" (p. 282.) In 1638, Silvester and Martin were fined and Barnard "was openly whipped because he had no estate to answer" (p. 289). In 1641, Mr. Collins and Francis Hutchinson "were fined higher than ought to have been done, because they could not pay it and would be thus kept close prisoners" and "be the longer kept in from doing harm" (vol. II, p. 40).

Winthrop, in 1643, sent "Captain George Cook with a company of armed men accompanied with many Indians," and "a minister" to invade Shawomet—the territory of Gorton admitted to be entirely out of his jurisdiction—to convert him and his men if they could and to shoot them if they could not.

They were captured by perfidy, and as they passed through the towns on their way to Boston, the ministers "which the soldiers brought along with them against us, gathered the people together in an open street, went to prayers, that the people might take notice, *what was done, was done in a holy manner and in the name of the Lord*," and

when they got to Boston Mr. John Winthrop, the Governor, "told us whatever the captain might express unto us, his intent was to have us as captives, and their captives now we were, and unto the common Goale we must go, without either Baile or main prize, when we continued until the Court sate." (*Innocencies Defense*, Forces Tracts, vol. 4.) The Court ordered him to be confined "to Charlestowne there to be set on worke, and to wear such bolts and irons as may hinder his escape, and so continue during the pleasure of the court; with this condition; that if wrote, or spoke his sentiments he was to be condemned to death and executed." (2 *Winthrop*, p. 147.) John Wicks was confined to Ipswich, Randall Houlden to Salem, Robert Potter to Rowly, Richard Carder to Roxbury, Francis Weston to Dorchester and John Warner to Boston on the same kind punishment and conditions. (*Id.*)

In 1644, before the missionaries to Virginia could return "to the people of God in that country," a poor man by the name of Hingham, one Painter, because he denied the right of infant baptism, was brought before the courts and "because he was very poor, so as no other but corporal punishment could be fastened upon him, he was ordered to be whipped." (2 *Winthrop*, page 174).

But the missionaries returned home, after a year and more, of kind entertainment without their tongues being bored, their noses slit, their ears cropped or a lash upon their backs. How was it requited by the "godly men" that sent them? By thanks to God from the Governor of the State, for the retribution of the Indian Massacre for their failure to receive the Puritan religion, and by foul aspersion upon the character of such men as Robert Hunt, Richard Bucke, Alexander Whittaker, — Glover, — Poole, William Wickam, William Mease, George Keith, Thomas Bargrave, William Macock, David Sandys, Jonas Stockton, Robert Paulet, Hawte Wyatt, Francis Bolton, William Bennett, Thomas White, William Leake, Greville Pooley, George Thorpe, Robert Staples, — Pemberton, — Hopkins, Anthony Paxton and others, whose lives were as pure and religion as holy as that of a John Robinson, a William Brewster, a John Winthrop, or any other saint in the Puritan Calendar. And when open drunkenness is not charged upon them, then the glory of the church of which they were the missionaries, is sought to be diminished by the suggestion that they had some Puritan sympathies, because their fathers aided Archbishop Whitgift to frame the Lambeth Articles, or a fort at Henrico was called "Charitie."

But the Massachusetts missionaries left Virginia in 1644, and the Journal of Mr. Winthrop is silent upon Virginia matters until the 28th of August, 1648, when Mr. Harrison arrived in Boston, "in the time of our general court, and reported to us that their church was grown to one hundred and eighteen persons, and many more looking towards it, which had stirred up the governor there, Sir William Berkley, to raise persecution

against them, and had banished their elder, Mr. Durand, and himself (viz: Mr. Haryson) was to depart the country by the third ship at furthest, which had caused him to come now to take advice of the magistrates and elders hereabout the matter. First he spake with the Magistrates and propounded two things: 1. whether their church ought to remove under this persecution, 2. whither we would advise them to remove." (*2 Winthrop*, 334). To which those magistrates, that were using all the power of the prison and the lash, the ball and the chain, to rid Massachusetts of all religion but their own, considerably replied: "that seeing God had carried on his work so graciously hitherto &c., and that there was so great hope of a far more plentiful harvest at hand, many of the council being well inclined &c. (and one thousand of the people by conjecture) they should not be hasty to remove as long as they could stay upon any tolerable terms."

It will be observed that the statement of Mr. Harrison to Governor Winthrop and the magistrates only contains three statements of facts, and they are: (1) That his church from 1642 to 1648, had grown to one hundred and eighteen persons; (2) That Mr. Durand had been banished, and (3) That he, "Harrison," was ordered to depart the country by the third ship at furthest." All the balance is mere conjecture. In order to test the conjecture, so far as it relates to Berkeley's Council, their names are given, viz: Captain John West, Richard Kemp, Secretary, Captain William Broccas, Captain Thomas Pettus, Captain William Bernard, Captain Henry Browne and Mr. George Ludlow.

It is not at all likely that many of that Council "were well inclined to Puritanism," and it is "conjectured" that "the thousand" is all wild romance. That it is a wild romance is shown by the letter of Harrison to Winthrop from "Nansemun, the 14th of the 11th month, 1647," in which he states "74 have ioyned here in fellowship, nineteen more stand propounded, and many more of great hopes and expectations." (*Mass. Hist.*, 4th Series, page 434-5).

His imagination was warm, but his mathematics were cold. He only had seventy-four in 1647, and including "the propounded," he had only 118 in 1648. The rest was imagination. He remained in Boston long enough to marry Dorothy, the daughter of Samuel Symonds—a cousin of Winthrop's—then went to London and took a church there; then to Dublin and took a church there; and then to London and back again to Dublin, where he died. "He was congregational in his judgment," but "his people were universally of another stamp." (*Non-Conformists' Memorial*, Vol. I, page 261.)

Whether Durand was banished, and if so, why, and whether Harrison was ordered to depart, and if so, why, will be left to the General Assembly of Virginia, the Robinson MSS., and the records of Norfolk county to determine. In the fall or winter of 1894 I endeavored to read those

records, but could not. The clerk informed me that neither he nor any of his deputies could read them, but that they had been read by President Lyon G. Tyler, of William and Mary, and by Mr. Edward James, of Norfolk. I am indebted to both of these gentlemen for a perusal of their copies of those records, and to Mr. James for extracts recently furnished to me to refresh my memory. He informs me his whole copy will soon be published in his excellent magazine,* "The Lower Norfolk County Antiquary," and when it is published, a flood of light will be thrown upon this part of Virginia history.

Mr. Harrison was born in 1616, and on the 25th of May, 1640, he was called to the Parish of Elizabeth River, at a salary of "one hundred pounds sterlinc yearly." The parish church was at "Mr. Sewell's Point." Captain John Sibrey, Lieutenant ffrranc Mason and Mr. Henry Sewell assumed thirty-two pounds and ten shillings for the inhabitants of the Sewell's Point section. William Julian, John Galear, Ensign Thomas Lambeth, Thomas Sawyer, Thomas Meare and John Watkins assumed thirty-six pounds for the inhabitants of Daniel Tanner's Creek; and Mr. Cornelius Lloyd, Mr. Henry Catlin and John Hill assumed thirty-three pounds for the inhabitants "of the westermost Branch and Crany Point."

It was in this last section that Mr. Richard Bennett had his plantation of 2,000 acres; and John Hill is said to have written one of the letters carried to Boston by Philip Bennett in 1642. (*Neill's Virginia Carolorum*, page 166.) Mr. Harrison seems to have been affected by the notions and the preaching of the Boston missionaries, for at the court held in Norfolk county in April, 1645, he was, upon the complaint of Mathew Phillips and Thomas Ivey, church wardens, presented for not reading the Book of Common Prayer, for not administering the Sacrament of Baptism according to the canons of the church, and for not teaching on Sunday afternoons according to the Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia. He was ordered to have notice and to be summoned to the General Court at Jamestown at the next Quarter Court to answer the presentment.

*See No. 2, Part I, page 11.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)